A COLLECTION

Of Many

DECLARATIONS

For the

Proteſtant Religion

From

The Writings, Speeches, &c. of King CHARLES the Firſt (of bleſſed Memory) and King CHARLES the Second, our preſent Gracious Soveraign.

By Clement Barksdale vid Ath: oxon: v 2 p 14, 15.

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AUREA DICTA.

The Gratious Words of King *Charles* the First, For the Proteſtant Religion of the Church of *England*: Collected out of εἰκὼν βασιλικὴ.

I. *Upon His Majeſties calling the Parliament*, 1642.

THe *odium* and offences, which ſome mens rigor or remiſsneſs in Church and State had contracted upon My Government, I reſolved to have expiated by ſuch Laws and regulations for the future, as might not only rectify what was amiſs in practice, but ſupply what was defective in the Conſtitution: no man having a greater zeal to ſee *Religion* ſetled, and preſerved in truth, unitie and order, than My ſelf; whom it moſt concerns both in piety and policy, as knowing, 'That no flames of civil diſſentions are more dangerous 'than thoſe, which make *Religious* pretenſions the 'grounds of Factions.

I reſolved to *Reform*, what I ſhould by free and full adviſe in Parliament be convinced to be amiſs; and to grant, whatever my Reaſon and Conſcience told me was fit to be deſired. I wiſh I had kept my ſelf within thoſe bounds, and not ſuffered my own judgment to have been overborn in ſome things, more by others importunity than their arguments; my Confidence had

leſs betrayed my ſelf and my Kingdoms to thoſe advantages which ſome men ſought for, who wanted nothing but Power and Occaſion to do Miſchief. 'But our Sins 'being ripe, there was no preventing of God's Juſtice 'from reaping that Glory in our Calamities, which we 'rob'd him of in our Proſperity.

VI. *Upon His Majeſties Retirement from* Weſtminſter.

I can be contented to recede much from my own intereſts and perſonal Rights, of which I conceive my ſelf to be Maſter; but in what concerns *Truth*, Juſtice, the Rights of the *Church*, and my Crown, together with the general Good of my Kingdoms (all which I am bound to preſerve as much as morally lies in me) here I am and ever ſhall be fixt and reſolute; nor ſhall any man gain my Conſent to that wherein my heart gives my tongue or hand the lye: nor will I be brought to affirm to men, what in my Conſcience I denyed before God.

VIII. *Upon His Majeſties Repulſe at* Hull.

I deſire always more to remember, I am a *Chriſtian* 'than a King. For what the Majeſtie of one might juſt-'ly abhor, the Charity of the other is willing to bear: 'what the height of a King tempteth to revenge, the *Hu-'mility* of a Chriſtian teacheth to forgive; keeping in compaſs all thoſe impotent paſſions, whoſe exceſs injures a man more than his greateſt Enemies can: For theſe give the Malice a full impreſſion on our Souls, which otherwiſe cannot reach very far, nor do us much hurt.

IX.

IX. *Upon raiſing Armies againſt the King.*

The bill againſt *Root* and *Branch* was brought on by tumultuary Clamors and *Schiſmatical* Terrors; which could never paſs, till both Houſes were ſufficiently thinned and over awed. To which partiality (while in all Reaſon, Juſtice and *Religion*, my Conſcience forbids me by conſenting to make up their Votes to Acts of Parliament) I muſt now be urged with an Army, and conſtrained either to hazard my own and my Kingdoms ruine by my defence; or proſtrate my Conſcience to the blind obedience of thoſe men, whoſe zealous ſuperſtition thinks or pretends, they cannot do God and the *Church* a greater Service, than utterly to deſtroy that Primitive, and Apoſtolical, and Anciently Univerſal Government of the *Church* by *Biſhops*.

Which, if other mens judgment binds them to maintain, or forbids them to conſent to the aboliſhing of it, mine much more: who, beſides the grounds I have in my judgment, have alſo a moſt ſtrict and indiſpenſable Oath upon my Conſcience, to preſerve that *Order* and the *Rights* of the *Church*. To which moſt ſacrilegious and abhorred Perjury, moſt unbeſeeming a Chriſtian King, ſhould I ever by giving my conſent be betrayed, I ſhould account it infinitely greater miſery, than any hath, or can befall me.

XI. *Upon the Nineteen Propoſitions.*

Many of them ſavour very ſtrong of that old leaven of

of Innovations, masked under that name of *Reformation*; which in my two last famous Predecessor's time, threatned both Prince and Parliaments; but I am sure was never wont so far to infect the whole mass of the Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdome, however dispersed among the Vulgar.

Nor will I consent to more than Reason, Justice, Honour and *Religion* perswade me to be for Gods Glory, the *Churches* good, my Peoples welfare, and my own Peace. I will Study to satisfy my Parliament, and my People: but I will never, for fear or flattery, gratify any Faction how potent soever.

XIII. *Upon the coming in of the* Scots.

The Coming again of that Party into *England* with an Army, only to conform this *Church* to their late new model, cannot but seem as unreasonable, as they would have thought the same measure offered from hence to them.

Nor do I know any such tough and malignant humours in the constitution of the *English Church*, which gentler Applications than those of an Army, might not easily have removed: Nor is it so proper to hewo ut Religious Reformations by the Sword, as to polish them by fair and equal disputations, among those that are most concerned in the differences; whom not force, but reason ought to convince.

Wise and Learned Men think, that nothing hath more marks

marks of Schiſm and Sectariſm, than this *Presbyterian* way; both as to the ancient and ſtill moſt univerſal way of the Church-Government, and ſpecially as to the particular Laws and Conſtitutions of this *Engliſh Church*; which are not yet repeated, nor are like to be for me till I ſee more rational and *Religious* motives.

I think my ſelf ſo much the more bound in Conſcience to attend the *Church*'s Good with the moſt judicious zeal and care, by how much I eſteem the *Church* above the State, the Glory of Chriſt above mine own, and the ſalvation of mens Souls above the preſervation of their Bodies and Eſtates.

Sure the *Church* of *England* might have purchaſed, at a far cheaper rate, the truth and happineſs of a reformed Government and Diſcipline (if it had been wanting) tho it had entertained the beſt Divines of Chriſtendom, for their advice in a full and free Synod: which I was ever willing to, and deſirous of; that matters being impartially ſetled, might be more ſatisfactory to all, and more durable.

XIV. *Upon the Covenant.*

Altho I am unſatisfied with many paſſages in that Covenant; ſome referring to my ſelf with very dubious and dangerous limitations; yet I chiefly wonder at the deſign and drift, touching the Diſcipline and Government of the *Church*. Nor can I ſee how they will reconcile ſuch an innovating Oath and Covenant, with that former Proteſtation, which was ſo lately taken, to maintain

tain the *Religion* eſtabliſhed in the *Church* of *England*; ſince they count Diſcipline ſo great a part of Religion.

I am prone to believe and hope, that many who took the *Covenant*, are yet firm to this judgment; 'That 'ſuch later vows, Oaths or Leagues can never blot out 'thoſe former Gravings and Characters, which by juſt 'and lawful Oaths were made upon their Souls.

As for the Reformation of the *Church*, which the Covenant pretends, I cannot think it juſt, or comely, that by the partial Advice of a few Divines (of ſo ſoft and ſervile tempers, as diſpoſed them to ſudden acting and compliance contrary to their former judgments) ſuch foul Scandals and Suſpitions ſhould be caſt upon the Doctrine and Government of the *Church* of *England*, as was never done (that I have heard) by any that deſerved the name of Reformed Churches abroad, nor by any men of learning or Candor at home: all whoſe judgments I cannot but prefer, before any men's now factiouſly engaged.

No man can be more forward than my ſelf, to carry on all due *Reformation*, with mature judgment and a good Conſcience, in what things I ſhall (after impartial Advice) be by God's Word and right Reaſon convinced to be amiſs. And I have offer'd more, than the fulleſt, freeſt and wiſeſt Parliaments did deſire. But the ſequel of ſome mens Actions makes it evident, that the main Reformation intended is the abaſeing of Epiſcopacy into Preſbytery, and the robbing the *Church* of its lands and revenues. 'Still I ſee, while the breath of 'Religi-

'Religion fills the Sails, profit is the compaſs by which 'factious men ſteer their courſe in all ſeditious commo-'tions.

I thank God, as no man lay more upon to temptations of uſurping the *Church lands* and revenues; ſo I have always had ſuch a perfect abhorrence of it in my Soul, that I never found the leaſt inclination to ſuch ſacrilegious reformings: Yet no man hath a greater deſire to have *Biſhops* and all *Church-men* ſo reformed, that they may beſt deſerve and uſe, not only what the pious Munificence of my Predeceſſors hath given to God and the Church, but all other additions of Chriſtian Bounty.

But no neceſſity ſhall ever (I hope) drive *Me* or *Mine* to invade or ſell the *Prieſt's Lands*: which both *Pharaoh's* Divinity and *Joſeph's* true Piety abhorr'd to do. So unjuſt I think it, both in the Eye of Reaſon and Religion, to deprive the moſt ſacred employment of all due encouragements; and like the other hard-hearted *Pharaoh*, to withdraw the Straw and encreaſe the Taſk: So purſuing the oppreſſed *Church* (as ſome have done) to the *Red-Sea* of a Civil War; where nothing but a Miracle can ſave it, or Him, who eſteems his greateſt Title to be called, and his chiefeſt Glory to be *The Defender of the Church*, both in its true Faith, and its juſt Fruitions, equally abhorring Sacriledge and Apoſtacy.

XV. *Upon the Scandals caſt upon the King.*

It was a great part of ſome mens Religion to ſcandalize Me and Mine: They thought theirs could not be

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true, if they cryed not down mine as falſe. I thank God, I have had more tryal of his Grace, as to the conſtancy of my *Religion*, in the *Proteſtant* Profeſſion of the *Church* of *England*, both abroad and at home, than ever they are like to have.

Nor do I know any exception I am ſo liable to, in their opinion, as too great a fixedneſs in that *Religion*, whoſe judicious and ſolid grounds, both from Scripture and Antiquity, will not give my Conſcience leave to approve or conſent to thoſe many dangerous and divided *Innovations*, which the bold ignorance of ſome men would needs obtrude upon Me and my People: contrary to thoſe well-tryed Foundations both of Truth and Order, which men of far greater learning and clearer Zeal have ſetled in the Confeſſion and Conſtitution of this *Church* in *England*: which many former Parliaments, in the moſt calm and unpaſſionate times, have oft confirmed. In which I ſhall ever by Gods help perſevere.

XVI. *Upon the Ordinance againſt the Common Prayer-Book.*

Tho I am not againſt a grave, modeſt, diſcreet and humble uſe of Miniſters Gifts, even in publick, the better to fit and excite their own and the peoples affections to the preſent occaſions: Yet I know no neceſſity, why private and ſingle Abilities ſhould quite juſtle out and deprive the *Church* of the joynt Abilities and concurrent gifts of many learned and godly men; ſuch as the Compoſers of the *Service-Book* were; who may in all reaſon

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be thought to have more of Gifts and Graces, enabling to Compoſe with ſerious deliberation and concurrent advice ſuch *Forms of Prayer*, as may beſt fit the Churches common wants, inform the Hearers underſtanding, and ſtir up that fiduciary and fervent Application of their Spirits (wherein conſiſts the very Life and Soul of Prayer) then any private man by his ſolitary Abilities can be preſumed to have.

The want of *Liturgy*, I believe, this *Church* will ſufficiently feel when the unhappy fruits of many mens ungovern'd ignorance and confident defects ſhall be diſcover'd in more errours, Schiſms, diſorders and uncharitable diſtractions in Religion: which are already but too many, the more's the pitty.

One of the greateſt faults ſome men found with our *Common-prayer-book*, I believe, was this: That it taught them to pray ſo oft for *Me*: for which Petitions they had not Loyalty enough to ſay *Amen*; nor yet Charity enough to forbear reproaches, and even curſing of Me in their own Forms, inſtead of praying for Me. I wiſh their Repentance may be their only puniſhment.

XVII. *Of the Differences in point of Church Government.*

I muſt now in Charity be thought deſirous to preſerve that Government in its right *Conſtitution*, as a Matter of *Religion*; Wherein my Judgment is fully ſatisfied, that it hath of all other the fulleſt Scripture Grounds, and al-

to the constant Practice of all Christian Churches, till of late years.

They must give me leave having none of their temptations to alter the Government of *Bishops* (that I may have a Title to their Estates) not to believe their pretended grounds to any new wayes contrary to the full and constant Testimony of all Histories, sufficiently convincing unbiassed men.

Not that I am against the managing of this Presidency and Authority in one man, by the joynt Counsel and Consent of many *Presbyters*. I have offerd to restore that, as a fit means to avoid those Errors, Corruptions, Partialities, which are incident to any one man: also to avoid Tyranny, which becomes no Christian, least of all *Church-men*. Besides, it will be a means to take away that burden and *Odium* of affairs, which may lay too heavy upon one mans Shoulders, as indeed I think it did formerly on the *Bishops* here.

For those secular Additaments and Ornaments of Authority, Civil Honour, and Estate, which my Predecessors, and Christian Princes in all Countries have annexed to *Bishops* and *Church-men*; I look upon them but as just Rewards of their Learning and Piety, who are fit to be in any degree of Church-Government; also Enablements to works of Charity, and Hospitality; meet strengthening of their Authority in Point of respect and observance; which in Peaceful times is hardly payed to any Governors by the measure of their Vir-tues so much as by that of their Estates.

I would have ſuch men *Biſhops* as are moſt worthy of ſuch Encouragements, and ableſt to uſe them. If at any time my Judgment of men failed, my good Intentions made my Error Venial. I am ſure I had, Whoſe Learning, Gravity, and Piety, no man of any Worth or Forehead can deny.

The Abuſes of *Epiſcopacy* deſerve to be Extirpated, as well as the uſe retained; for I hold it far better to hold 'to Primitive and uniform Antiquity than to comply 'with divided noveltie. A right Epiſcopacy will at once 'ſatisfy all juſt deſires and intereſts of good *Biſhops*, 'humble *Presbyters*, and ſober *People*: ſo as Church 'Affairs ſhould be managed neither with Tyranny, Pa-'rity, nor Popularity; neither *Biſhops* Ejected, nor *Presbyters* deſpiſed, nor *People* oppreſſed. And in this Integrity, both of my Judgment and Conſcience, I hope God will Preſerve me.

XVIII. *upon* Uxbridg *Treaty.*

In *Church-affairs*, where I had leaſt Liberty of Prudence, haveing ſo many ſtrict tyes of Conſcience upon me; yet I was willing to condeſcend ſo far to the ſetling of them, as might have given fair ſatisfaction to all men, whom Faction, Covetouſneſs, or Superſtition had not Engaged more, than any true Zeal, Charity, or love of Reformation.

God knows, and Time will diſcover, who were moſt to blame

blame for the unſuccesfulneſs of that Treaty, and who muſt bear the guilt of after Calamities. I believe I am very excuſable, both before God and all unpaſſionate men; who have ſeriouſly weighed theſe tranſactions, wherein I endeavoured no leſs the Reſtauration of *Peace* to my People, than the Preſervation of my own Crowns to my Poſterity.

Upon the Reformation of the Times.

I am ſorry to ſee, (after the freedom of Parliament was by factious Tumults oppreſſed) how little regard was had to the good Laws Eſtabliſhed, and the *Religion* ſetled; (which ought to be the firſt Rule and ſtandard of Reforming) with how much Partiality, and Popular Compliance, the Paſſions and Opinions of men have been gratified, to the detriment of the Public, and the infinite ſcandal of the *Reformed Religion.*

What *Diſſolutions* of all Order and Government in the *Church*! What Novelties of Schiſms and Corrupt Opinions! What undecences and Confuſions in ſacred Adminiſtrations! What Sacrilegious Invaſions upon the Rights and Revenues of the *Church*! What Contempt and oppreſſion of the *Clergy*!

I conceive that where the Scripture is not ſo clear and 'Punctual in precepts, there the conſtant and univerſal 'Practice of the *Church*, in things not contrary to reaſon, faith, good manners, or any poſitive command, is the beſt Rule that Chriſtians can follow.

'I am ſure, the right methods of Reforming the *Church*, 'cannot conſiſt with that of Perturbing the Civil ſtate: nor can *Religion* be juſtly advanced by depreſſing Loyalty; which is one of the chiefeſt Ingredients, and Ornaments of true Religion. For next to *Fear God*, is, *Honour* the *King*.

I doubt not but Chriſts Kingdom may be ſet up, without Pulling down mine: nor will any men in impartial times appear good *Chriſtians*, that approve not themſelves good Subjects.

Chriſts Government will Confirm mine, not overthrow it; ſince, as I own mine from him, ſo I deſire to rule for his Glory, and his *Churches* Good.

XXIV. *Upon the denying of his Majeſty the attendance of his Chaplains.*

When Providence was pleaſed to deprive Me of all civil Comforts and ſecular Attendants, I thought the abſence of them all might beſt be ſupplyed by the attendance of ſome of my *Chaplains*; whom for their Function I reverence, and for their Fidelity I have cauſe to love. By their Learning, Piety and Prayers I hoped to be either better enabled to ſuſtain the want of all other enjoyments, or better fitted for the recovery and uſe of them, in *God*'s good time, ſo reaping, by their pious help, a Spiritual Harveſt of Grace, amidſt the Thorns, and after the Plowings of Temporal croſſes.

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If I had asked my Revenues, my power of the *Militia*, or any one of my Kingdoms, it had been no wonder to have been denyed in those things; where the evil policy of men forbids all just restitution, lest they should confess an injurious usurpation: But to deny the Ghostly comfort of my *Chaplains*, seems a greater rigour and barbarity, than is ever used by Christians to the meanest Prisoners, and greatest Malefactors; whom tho the justice of the *Law* deprive of wordly comforts, yet the mercy of *Religion* allows them the benefit of their *Clergy*, as not aiming at once to destroy their Bodies, and to damn their Souls.

But my *Agony* must not be relieved with the presence of one good *Angel*: for such I account a learned, godly and discreet *Divine*, and such I would have all mine to be.

I am so much a friend to all *Church-men*, that have any thing in them beseeming that sacred Function, that I have hazarded mine own Interests, chiefly upon Conscience and Constancy to maintain their Rights. Whom the more I looked upon as *Orphans*, and under the sacrilegious eyes of many cruel and rapacious Reformers; so I thought it my duty, the more to appear as a *Father*, and a Patron for them and the *Church*.

In *Devotions*, I love neither profane boldness, norpious Nonsense; but such an humble and judicious gravity, as shews the Speaker to be at once considerate of God's Majesty, the *Churches* honour, and his own riteness; both knowing what God allows him to ask, and

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in what manner it becomes a Sinner, to ſupplicate the divine mercy for himſelf and others.

As I owe the *Clergy* the protection of a Chriſtian King, ſo I deſire to enjoy from them the benefit of their Gifts and Prayers: Which I look upon as more prevalent than mine own, or other mens, by how much they flow from minds more enlightned, and affections leſs diſtracted, than thoſe which are encumbred with ſecular Affairs.

'My *comfort* is, that in the enforced, not neglected, 'want of ordinary means, *God* is wont to afford extra-'ordinary ſupplies of his Gifts and Graces. If his *Spirit* will teach me, and help mine infirmities in Prayer, reading and meditation (as I hope He will) I ſhall need no other, either Orator or Inſtructor.

XXVII. *To the Prince of* Wales.

I had rather you ſhould be *Charles le bon*, then *le grand*, Good then Great. I hope God hath deſigned you to be both, having ſo early put you into that exerciſe of his Graces and Gifts beſtowed upon you: which may beſt weed out all vicious Inclinations, and diſpoſe you to thoſe Princely endowments and imployments, which will moſt gain the love, and intend the welfare of thoſe, over whom God ſhall place you.

The true Glory of *Princes* conſiſts in the advancing of

Gods Glory, in the maintenance of true *Religion* and the *Churches* good: Also in the dispensation of civil power, with Justice and Honour, to the publick peace.

Piety will make you prosperous, at least it will keep you from being miserable, nor is he much a looser that looseth all, yet saveth his own *Soul* at last.

Above all, I would have you (as hope I you are already) well grounded and setled in your *Religion*. The best profession of which, I have ever esteemed that of the *Church* of *England*, in which you have been educated: yet I would have your own judgment and reason now Seal to that sacred Bond, which Education hath written, that it may be judiciously your own Religion, and not other mens Custom or Tradition, which you profess.

In this I charge you to persevere as coming neareſt to God's Word for *Doctrine*, and to the Primitive Examples for *Government*, with some little amendment; which I often offer'd, tho in vain: your fixation in matters of *Religion*, will not be more necessary for your Souls, than your Kingdoms Peace, when God shall bring you to them.

Let nothing seem little or despicable to you, in matters which concern *Religion* and the *Churches* peace; so as to neglect the speedy reforming, and effectual suppressing Errors and Schisms: which seeming at first but 'as a hand bredth, by seditious Spirits as by strong Winds 'are soon made to cover and darken the whole Heavens.

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Your Prerogative is beſt ſhewed and exerciſed in remitting, rather than exacting the rigour of the Law; there being nothing worſe than legal Tyranny.

Beware of exaſperating any *Factions* by the croſsneſs and aſperity of ſome mens paſſions, humours and private opinions; employed by you; grounded only upon the difference in leſſer matters, which are but the Skirts and Suburbs of *Religion*; provided the difference amount not to an inſolent oppoſition of *Laws* and *Government*. Always keep up *ſolid Piety*, and thoſe *Fundamental Truths*, (which mend both hearts and lives of men) with impartial favor and juſtice.

I do require and intreat you, as your *Father* and your *King*, that you never ſuffer your heart to receive the leaſt check againſt, or diſaffection from the true *Religion* eſtabliſhed in the *Church* of *England*. I tell you, I have try'd it; and after much ſearch and many diſputes have concluded it to be the *beſt* in the World; not only in the Community, as *Chriſtian*; but alſo in the ſpecial notion, as *Reformed*; keeping the midle way between the Pomp of ſuperſtitious Tyranny, and the meaneſs of Fanatick Anarchy.

Scarce any one, who hath been a beginner, or an active Proſecutor of this late War againſt the *Church*, the *Laws*, and *Me*, either was or is a true Lover, Embracer or Practicer of the *Proteſtant Religion* eſtabliſhed in *England*: which neither gives ſuch rules, nor ever before ſet ſuch Examples.

Nor would I have you to entertain any Averſation, or diſlike of *Parliaments*; which in the right Inſtitution, with freedom and honour, will never injure or diminiſh your Greatneſs; but will rather be as interchanging of Love, Loyalty, and Confidence between a Prince and his People.

Happy times, I hope, attend you; wherein your Subjects, by their miſeries, will have learned; That 'Religion to their God, and Loyalty to their King, can-'not be parted, without both their Sin and their In-'felicity.

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FINIS.

AUREA DICTA.

The King's Gracious Words, for the Proteſtant Religion.

1. *In His Majeſties Letter to the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, from his Court at* Breda, April 14. 1660. *to be read in the Houſe.*

IF you deſire the Advancement and propagation of the Proteſtant Religion, we have by our conſtant profeſſion and practice of it, given ſufficient teſtimony to the World, that neither the unkindneſs of thoſe of the ſame Faith towards us, nor the civilities and obligations of thoſe of a contrary profeſſion (of both which we have had abundant evidence) could in the leaſt degree ſtartle us, or make us ſwerve from it; and nothing can be propoſed to manifeſt our zeal and affection to it, to which we will not readily conſent.

2. *In His Majeſties Declaration to all his loving Subjects,* Octob. 25. 1660. *p.* 3.

How much the peace of the State is concerned in the peace of the Church, and how difficult a thing it is

to preſerve Order and Government in Civil, whilſt there is no Order or Government in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, is evident to the world: And this little part of the world, our own Dominions, hath late experience of it.

3. *In the ſame Declaration concerning Eccleſiaſtical Affairs,* Octob. 25. 1660. *p.* 4.

In the Reformed Churches abroad, in *France*, in the Low-Countries, and in *Germany*, we have had frequent conferences with the moſt learned men, who have unanimouſly lamented the great reproach the Proteſtant Religion undergoes, from the diſtempers and too notorious Schiſms in matters of Religion in *England*: And as the moſt Learned amongſt them have always with great ſubmiſſion and reverence acknowledged and magnified the eſtabliſhed Government of the Church of *England*, and the great countenance and ſhelter the Proteſtant Religion received from it before thoſe unhappy times; ſo many of them with great ingenuity and ſorrow confeſſed, that they were too eaſily miſled by miſ-information and prejudice, into ſome diſeſteem of it, as if it had too much complied with the Church of *Rome*; whereas they now acknowledg it to be the beſt fence God hath yet raiſed againſt Popery in the world: and we are perſwaded, they do with great zeal wiſh it reſtored to its old dignity and veneration.

And *p.* 8. We need not profeſs the high affection and eſteem we have for the Church of *England*, as it is eſtabliſhed by Law; the Reverence to which hath ſupported us (with Gods Bleſſing) againſt many temptations.

4. *And*

4. *And p.* 5. *of the ſame Declaration,* White-hall, Oct. 25. 1660.

When we were in *Holland,* we were attended by many Grave and Learned Miniſters from hence, who were looked upon as moſt able and principal Aſſertors of the *Presbyterian* opinions, with whom we had as much conference as the multitude of Affairs, which were then upon us, would permit us to have; and to our great ſatisfaction and comfort, found them perſons full of affection to us, of zeal for the peace of the Church and State, and neither enemies (as they had been given out to be) to Epiſcopacy or Liturgy, but modeſtly to deſire ſuch alterations in either, as without ſhaking foundations, might allay the preſent diſtempers, which the indiſpoſition of the time, and the tenderneſs of ſome mens Conſciences had contracted.

5. *And p.* 10. *Of the ſame.*

We do declare our purpoſe and reſolution is, and ſhall be, to promote the power of Godlineſs, to encourage the exerciſes of Religion, both publick and private, and to take care that the Lords-day be applied to holy exerciſes, without unneceſſary divertiſments; and that inſufficient, negligent, and ſcandalous Miniſters be not permitted in the Church; and that as the preſent Biſhops are known to be men of great and exemplary piety in their Lives (which they have manifeſted in their notorious and exampled ſufferings during theſe late diſtempers) ſo we ſhall take ſpecial care, by the aſſiſ-

ance

of God, to prefer no men to that office and charge, but men of Learning, Virtue and Piety: who may be themſelves the beſt examples to thoſe who are to be govern'd by them.

6. *Again p.* 12. 13. *of the ſame.*

We will take care that Confirmation be rightly and ſolemnly performed, by the information, and with the conſent of the Miniſters of the place; who ſhall admit none to the Lords Supper, till they have made a credible profeſſion of their Faith, and promiſed obedience to the Will of God, according as it is expreſſed in the conſiderations of the *Rubric* before the *Catechiſm*: and that all poſſible dilligence be uſed for the inſtruction, and reformation of ſcandalous offenders.

Moreover the Rural Dean and his Aſſiſtants are, in their reſpective Diviſions, to ſee that the Children and younger ſort be carefully inſtructed by the reſpective Miniſters of every Pariſh, in the grounds of Chriſtian Religion, and be able to give a good account of their Faith and Knowledg, and alſo of their Chriſtian converſation conformable thereunto, before they be confirmed by the Biſhop, or admitted to the Sacrament of the Lords Supper.

7. *And p.* 14. 15. *of the ſame Declaration.*

No Biſhop ſhall exerciſe any Arbitrary Power, or do or impoſe any thing upon the Clergy, or the people, but what is according to the known Laws of the Land.

We

We are very glad to find, that all with whom we have conferred, do in their judgments approve the Liturgy, or ſet form of publick worſhip to be lawful; which in our judgment, for the preſervation of Unity and Uniformity, we conceive to be very neceſſary.

Concerning Ceremonies, we have the more eſteem of all, and reverence for many of them, by having been preſent in many of thoſe Churches, where they are moſt aboliſhed, or diſcountenanced: And it cannot be doubted, but that every national Church, with the approbation and conſent of the Soveraign power, may, and hath always introduced ſuch particular Ceremonies, as in that conjuncture of time are thought moſt proper for edification, and the neceſſary improvement of Piety and Devotion in the People.

8. *P.* 19. *of the ſame Declaration.*

And let us all endeavour, and emulate each other in theſe endeavours, to countenance and advance the Proteſtant Religion abroad; which will be beſt done by ſupporting the Dignity and Reverence due to the beſt Reformed Proteſtant Church at home; and which being once freed from the calumnies and reproaches it hath undergone from theſe late ill times, will be the beſt ſhelter for thoſe abroad; which will by that countenance, both be the better protected againſt their enemies, and be the more eaſily iuduced to compoſe the differences among themſelves, which give the enemies more advantage againſt them.

9. *In His Majeſties Speech to the Houſe of Commons at the Banquetting-Houſe,* March 1. 1661. p. 7. 8.

I have the worſt luck in the world, if after all Reproaches of being a *Papiſt*, whilſt I was abroad, I am ſuſpected of being a *Presbyterian* now I am come home. I am as zealous for the Church of *England* as any of you can be, and am enough acquainted with the enemies of it, on all ſides. I am as much in love with the Book of Common Prayer as you can wiſh, and have prejudice enough to thoſe who do not love it; who, I hope in time, will be better informed, and change their minds; and you may be confident, I do as much deſire to ſee an uniformity ſettled, as any amongſt you.

I have tranſmitted the Book of Common-Prayer, with thoſe Alterations and Additions, which have been preſented to me by the Convocation, to the Houſe of Peers, with my approbation, that the Act of Uniformity may relate to it; ſo that I preſume it will be ſhortly diſpatched there. And when we have done all we can, the well ſetteling that Affair will require great prudence and diſcretion, and the abſence of all paſſion and precipitation.

10. *In His Majeſties Speech to both Houſes,* July 30. 1661. *p.* 4.

I thank you with all my heart, indeed as much as I can do for any thing, for the repeal of that Act which excluded the Biſhops from ſitting in Parliament; it was an unhappy Act, in an unhappy time, paſſed with many

ny unhappy circumſtances, and attended with miſerab events; and therefore I do again thank you for repealing it, you have thereby reſtored Parliaments to their primitive inſtitutions.

And *Novemb.* 20. *p.* 1. I come to ſee what you and I have ſo long deſired to ſee, The Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons of *England* met together to conſult for the peace and ſafety of Church and State; by which Parliaments are reſtored to their primitive Luſter and Integrity. I do heartily congratulate with you for this day.

11. *In the Kings Letter to the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, Octob. 14. 1662.

The bold abuſes and extravagancies of Preachers (through the licentiouſneſs of the late Times) have much encreaſed, to the enflaming, fomenting and heightening of the ſad diſtempers and confuſions that were among us. And at this preſent (notwithſtanding the merciful providence of God, ſo ſignally manifeſted in reſtoring us to our Crown, and our pious care and endeavours to govern our Realms in peace and tranquility) the ſaid abuſes do yet continue in a very high meaſure in ſundry parts of this Realm, through the buſie diligence of ſome unquiet and factious ſpirits; who inſtead of Preaching the pure Word of God, and building up the people in Faith and Holineſs, have made it a great part of their buſineſs, to beget in the minds of their Hearers, an evil opinion of their Governours, by inſinuating fears and jealouſies to diſpoſe them to diſcontent, &c.

12. *In the King's Directions concerning Preachers,* October 14. 62.

That no Preachers in their Sermons presume to meddle with matters of State, &c. but that upon all good occasions they faithfully instruct the people in their bounden duty of subjection and obedience to their Governors, superior and subordinate of all sorts, and to the established Laws according to the Word of God, and the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, as it is contained in the Homilies of obedience, and the Articles of Religion set forth by publick Authority. *ib.*

13. That for the more edifying of the People in Faith and Godliness, all Ministers and Preachers, in their several respective Cures, shall not only diligently apply themselves to Catechise the younger sort, according as in the Book of Common-Prayer is appointed; but also shall in their ordinary Sermons insist chiefly upon Catechetical Doctrines, declaring withall unto their Congregations, what influences such Doctrines ought to have into their Lives and Conversations. *ib.*

14. And because these licentious times have corrupted Religion, even in the very Roots and Foundations; that where there is an Afternoons Exercise, it be especially spent in explaining some part of the Church-Catechism, or in Preaching upon some such Text, if Scripture, as will properly and naturally lead to the handling of something contained in it; or may conduce to the exposition of the Liturgy and Prayers of the Church; the only cause they grew into contempt amongst

amongſt the People being this, that they were not underſtood. *ib.*

15. That the Miniſter read the Prayers with that Gravity, Diſtinctneſs, Devotion and Reverence, as becomes ſo holy an Action: and whenſoever by reaſon of his Infirmity, or the concurrence of other Offices, the time may ſeem too ſhort, or he unable to perform the Office of both Prayers and Sermon at length, he rather ſhortens his Diſcourſe or Sermon, than omit any thing of the Prayers, leſt he incur the penalty of the Act of Uniformity, requiring them to be read according as the Book directs. *ib.*

16. Laſtly, That for the better obſerving of the Lord's day (too much neglected of many) the Preachers ſhall, as by often and ſerious Admonitions and ſharp reproofs, endeavour to draw off People from ſuch Idle, Debauched and Prophane Courſes, as diſhonour God, being a ſcandal on Religion, and contempt on the Laws and Authority Eccleſiaſtical and Civil; ſo ſhall they very earneſtly perſwade them to frequent Divine Service on the Lord's day, and other Feſtivals appointed by the Church to be kept ſolemn. And the Miniſters ſhall exhort ſuch as are in Authority, carefully to look after offendors in any kind; that all diſorders may, for the time to come, be prevented. *ib.*

(ſee *Rex Theologus*)

Given at our Court at White-Hall,
October 14. 1662. *An. R.* 14.

17. *In his Majeſties Speech to both Houſes,* February 10. 1667. p. 4.

One thing more I hold my ſelf bound to recommend unto you at preſent, which is, that you would ſeriouſly think of ſome courſe to beget a better Union and Compoſure in the minds of my Proteſtant Subjects, in matters of Religion, whereby they may be induced, not only to ſubmit quietly to the Government, but alſo cheerfully give their Aſſiſtance to the ſupport of it.

18. *In his Declaration to all his loving Subjects,* March 15. 1671. p. 3.

And in the firſt place we declare our expreſs Reſolution, meaning and Intention to be, That the Church of *England* be preſerved, and remain in its Doctrine, Diſcipline and Government, as now it ſtands eſtabliſhed by Law; And that this be taken to be, as it is, the Baſis, Rule and Standard of the general and publick Worſhip of God; And that the Orthodox, conformable Clergy do review and enjoy the Revenues belonging thereunto; And that no perſon, tho' of a different opinion and perſwaſion, ſhall be exempt from paying his Tithes or other Dues whatſoever: And further, we do declare, that no perſon ſhall be capable of holding any Benefice, Living, or Eccleſiaſtical Dignity or Preferment of any kind, in this our Kingdom of *England,* who is not exactly conformable. *ib.*

19. *Ib.*

19. *Ib.* p. 6. And that there may be no pretence for any of our Subjects to continue their illegal Meetings and Conventicles, we do declare, that we ſhall from time to time allow a ſufficient number of places, as they ſhall be deſired, in all parts of this our Kingdom, for the uſe of ſuch as do not conform to the Church of *England*, to Meet and Aſſemble in, in Order to their publick Worſhip and Devotion.

P. 7. But our expreſs Will and Pleaſure is, That none of our Subjects do preſume to meet in any places, until ſuch place be allowed, and the Teacher of that Congregation be approved by us.

Ib. If after this our Clemency and Indulgence, any of our Subjects ſhall preſume to abuſe this Liberty, and ſhall preach ſeditiouſly, or to the derogation of the Doctrine, Diſcipline, or Government of the eſtabliſhed Church, or ſhall meet in places not allowed by us, we do hereby give them warning, and declare, we will proceed againſt them with all ſeverity.

20. *In the Kings Speech to both Houſes,* February 5. 1672. p. 4.

I will conclude with this aſſurance to you, that I will preſerve the true reformed Proteſtant Religion, and the Church, as it is now eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom; And in the whole courſe of my Indulgence to Diſſenters, I do not intend it ſhall any ways prejudice the Church, but I will ſupport its Rights and it in its full Power.

And *October* 27. 73. p. 4. I hope I need not uſe many words to perſwade you, that I am ſteady in maintaining all the profeſſions and promiſes I have made you

concern-

concerning Religion: And I ſhall be very ready to give you freſh inſtances of my zeal for preſerving the eſtabliſhed Religion and Laws, as often as any occaſion ſhall require.

And *January* 7. 73. p. 4. If there be any thing elſe, which you think wanting to ſecure Religion, there is nothing which you ſhall reaſonably propoſe, but I ſhall be ready to receive it.

21. *In the King's Speech,* April 13. 75. p. 3.

The principal end of my calling you now, is to know what you think may be yet wanting to the ſecurity of Religion; and to give my ſelf ſatisfaction of having uſed the utmoſt of my endeavours to procure and ſettle a right and laſting underſtanding between us. I will leave nothing undone, that may ſhew the World my zeal to the Proteſtant Religion, as it is eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*; from which I will never depart.

Again, *June* 9. 73. p. 3. I think I have given ſufficient evidence to the World, that I have not been wanting on my part, in my endeavours to procure the full ſatisfaction of all my Subjects, in the matter both of Religion and Property.

And again, *October* 13. 75. I recommend to you, whatever may tend to the ſecurity of the Proteſtant Religion, as it is now eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England.*

22. *In his Speeches to both Houſes,* November 9. 78. p. 3.

Nor do I think it enough to give you my thanks only, for the grave and extraordinary care you have already taken, and do continually ſhew for the ſafety and preſervation of my Perſon in theſe times of danger; but I hold my ſelf obliged to let you ſee withal, that I do as much ſtudy your preſervation too, as I can poſſibly; and that I am as ready to joyn with you, in all the ways and means that may eſtabliſh a firm ſecurity of the Proteſtant Religion, as your own hearts can wiſh; And this not only during my time (of which I am ſure you have no fear) but in all future Ages, even to the end of the World.

And *March* 6. p. 3. I meet you here with the moſt earneſt deſire, that man can have, to unite the Minds of all my Subjects, both to me and to one another; and I reſolve it ſhall be your faults, if the ſucceſs be not ſuitable to my deſires.

And p. 7. I do give you this aſſurance, that I will with my Life defend the Proteſtant Religion, and the Laws of this Kingdom.

23. *In his Majeſties Speech to both Houſes,* February 15. 1679. p. 1.

I am now reſolved to let the World ſee, that it ſhall not be my fault, if they be not happy by your Conſultations in Parliament; For I declare my ſelf very plainly to you, that I come prepared, to give you all the

the ſatisfaction and ſecurity in the great concerns of the Proteſtant Religion, as it is eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*, that ſhall reaſonably be asked, or can conſiſt with Chriſtian Prudence.

24. *In his Speech to both Houſes,* October 21. 80. p. 6.

That which I value above all the Treaſure in the World, and which I am ſure will give me greater Strength and Reputation both at home and abroad than any Treaſure can do, is a perfect Union among our ſelves. Nothing but this can reſtore the Kingdom to that Strength and Vigor which it ſeems to have loſt, and raiſe us again to that conſideration, which *England* hath uſually had.

25. *In his Majeſties Speech to both Houſes,* March 21. 168$\frac{0}{1}$. p. 2.

It is as much my Intereſt, and ſhall be as much my care as yours, to preſerve the Liberty of the Subject; becauſe the Crown can never be ſafe, when that is in danger. And I would have you likewiſe to be convinc'd, that neither your Liberties nor Properties can ſubſiſt long, when the juſt Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown are invaders, or the Honour of the Government brought low and into diſreputation.

And p. 3. Let not the juſt care you ought to have of Religion be ſo managed and improv'd into unneceſſary fears, as to be made a pretence for changing the Foundations of the Government.

26. P. 3.

26. *P.* 3. *ib.* To remove all reaſonable fears that may ariſe from a poſſibility of a Popiſh Succeſſor's coming to the Crown; if means can be found, that in ſuch a caſe the Adminiſtration of the Government may remain in Proteſtant Hands, I ſhall be ready to hearken to any ſuch expedient, by which the Religion may be preſerv'd and the Monarchy not deſtroy'd.

Ib. p. 4. I conclude with this one Article to you, that the Rules and Meaſures of all your Votes, may be the known and publiſhed Laws of the Land; which neither can nor ought to be departed from, nor chang'd, but by Act of Parliament: And I may the more reaſonably require, that you make the Laws of the Land your Rule, becauſe I am reſolved they ſhall be mine.

28. *In his Majeſties Declaration,*
April 8. 1681. *p.* 9.

We look upon Parliaments, as the beſt Method for healing the Diſtempers of the Kingdom, and the only means to preſerve the Monarchy in that due Credit and Reſpect, which it ought to have both at home and abroad. And for this cauſe we are reſolved, by the bleſſing of God, to have frequent Parliaments; and both in and out of Parliament, to uſe our utmoſt endeavours to extirpate Popery, and to redreſs all the Grievances of our Good Subjects; and in all things to govern according to the Laws of the Kingdom. And we hope that a little time will ſo far open the eyes of all our good Subjects, that our next meeting in Parliament ſhall perfect all that Settlement and Peace, which ſhall be found wanting, either in Church or State.

In His Majeſties Anſwers,
May 19. 1681.

To the *Lieutenancy.* That zeal which they have expreſſed their Loyalty and good Affection to his Perſon and Government, is at this time a very ſeaſonable piece of Duty and Service, and His Majeſty doth heartily thank them for it.

To *Southwark.* They proceeded upon the trueſt and ſureſt grounds that can be, when they lay it down for a Maxim, that ſteady Loyalty is the only Foundation of true Felicity.

To *Bath.* That he will always retain a gracious remembrance of their good Services; and that they ſhall not fail to find effects of it, when ever they ſhall apply themſelves to his Majeſty for his Favour.

To *London.* The King is not only confident of the affection of the City in general, as knowing no Prince ever deſerved better of his People: But he believes the greateſt part of the Aldermen and Common-Councel too, to be very much addicted to his Service.

The King hath ſet his heart upon this City, to do them all the good he can: and 'tis only the peace of his Government which can bring you any proſperity. The King therefore recommends it to you, and requires it of you, to take effectual care, that there be no kind of diſturbance or diſorder among you.

VIVAT ROY.

Salus

Salus Populi Suprema Lex.

The ſafety of the People is the ſupream Law.

1. TO the *ſafety* of any thing or perſon is oppoſed, not whatſoever hurt or offence, but ruin and deſtruction. A mans Body may be perhaps afflicted with ſome Diſtempers, yet is he not preſently to fly to extream Remedies, as in danger of Life. So in a Common-wealth, Tumults muſt not be raiſed, nor an Alarm given to the Multitude, upon occaſion of ſome abuſes or diſorders in the Government. There have been always, and will be, under the beſt of Kings, in the beſt conſtituted Common-wealths, oppreſſions and grievances, not a few. Then is the *ſafety* of the Common-wealth in queſtion, when things are plainly brought into open danger, either by invaſion of Forreign Enemies, or by inſurrection of wicked Subjects, whence will follow Ruin, unleſs timely ſuccour be provided.

2. *People*, is a multitude of men gathered together, united by Laws agreed on, and by common Intereſt and mutual Profit. Three ways is the Word uſed in Roman Authors. 1. For the *Plebeians* alone, or common People, the loweſt rank, oppoſed to the Lords and Gentlemen. 2. For the two inferior Orders, the *Plebeians*

and *Gentlemen* together, in distinction from the Lords, Patricians, or *Senators*. These retained some Prerogative of Dignity and Honour above the other Citizens, as appeareth in that solemn form: *It hath seemed good to the Senate and People of Rome.* Wherein the name of *People* comprehends all the Citizens, the Senate (or Lords) excepted. 3. For all the Citizens of the three Orders, *Lords*, *Gentlemen*, and *Plebeians*. In this sense, the Writers of Roman affairs, while the State of their Common-wealth was popular, are to be understood, as oft as they mention the Conservation, Dignity, and *Majesty of the People.*

3. The word *People* may be taken either *collectively*, to signifie the whole community of a Common-wealth, that is, the Prince and the Subjects together; or *discretively and precisely*, to signifie the Subjects only distinct from the King, just as the *Body* of man either notes the inferiour Members together with the Head; or these Members precisely and distinct from the Head. An *Army* sometimes comprehends the General himself, with the Soldiers; sometimes not. So *Kingdom*, *Parliament*, and other words of like sort.

4. But in what sense (*collectively*, or *discretively*) is the appellation of *People* to be understood in the *Maxim*? The Rule of Interpretation is, *Words collective are always to be taken collectively, unless the opposite adjoyned require the contrary.* For example, where it is said (*Col.* 1. 18.) *Christ is the Head of his Body the Church*, it is manifest, by the opposite added, *viz.* by the mention of *Head* (to which Body relates) the word *Body* is taken dis-

diſcretively for the other Members diſtinct from the Head. Likewiſe if one ſay, the General hath drawn his *Army* out of the Camp, or hath ſent them to their Winter Quarters: Or, (which is written of *David*) *whatſoever the King did pleaſed the People*: 'Tis clear by the oppoſite oppoſed, *General* and *King*, That the collective words, *Army* and *People*, are to be underſtood *diſcretively* and *excluſively*. That is, by *Army* the *Soldiers* are only meant, not the General; by *People* the *Subjects* only, not the King alſo.

5. But when the *oppoſite* is not added, to retain the ſignification unto the one term of relation, it is unreaſonable to take the *collective* word otherwiſe than collectively and in the juſt Latitude, ſo as may comprehend both relatives; eſpecially where the ſpeech concerns the *ſafety* and good of both. For example, If the Camp were ordered to remove to morrow, leſt the *Army* ſhould be ſurprized by the Enemy; No man in his right mind would conceive this proviſion made, only for the *Soldiers ſafety*, no regard being had for the *General*. As if a *Phyſitian* ſhould adviſe his *Patient* to have a care of his *Body*, and he ſhould look to the lower Members and neglect the *Head*.

6. Again, If a Company of common Soldiers ſay, *The ſafety of the Army is the ſupreme Military Law*; The *General* lays intollerable burthens upon his men; unleſs they ſhake off the Yoke in time, the *Army* will be loſt: And on this Ground conſpire to defend themſelves by Force and Arms, deſpiſe the Commands of their General, and offer violence to his Perſon. Or, ſuppoſe *Servants* in a Family (who are willed to be obedient e-

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ven *to froward Maſters* 1 Pet. 2.) laying their heads together ſhould throw their *Maſter* out of doors, as a churliſh man and unjuſt, ſeize upon the Keys and Trunks, and all the ſtuff under this colour, *The ſafety of the Family is the ſupreme Law aconomical*; who would not confeſs, theſe wicked and nefarious enterprizes are not to be inferred from thoſe *principles* well underſtood. Such is their plea, and no better, who make the *ſafety of the People* a cloak for civil Sedition or Rebellion: doubtleſs, there is contein'd, and that eminently, in the ſafety of the *Army*, the ſafety of the *General*; in the ſafety of the *Family*, the *Maſters* ſafety; and in the ſafety of the *People*, the *Princes* ſafety alſo. In a word, the ſafety of the *People*, i. e. of the King and of his Subjects together, is the ſupreme Law: but the ſafety of the *People*, i. e. of the Subjects, the King being excluded, not ſo.

7. Moreover, He that more attentively conſiders the dignity of the perſons, or the original of this *Maxim*, will grant, this celebrated ſaying is rather meant of the ſafety of the *Prince* preciſely, than of the ſafety of the *People* preciſely. That the Majeſty of Kings is *Sacred* and Holy, not only the Eccleſiaſtical *Fathers* (even at the time when yet there was no Chriſtian King) have liberally acknowledged; who honour'd them as men *next to God*, and leſs then God only; offer'd unto God Vows and Prayers for their ſafety; upon their ſafety, declared the ſafety of all the People and their Felicity to depend: But *God* himſelf alſo, the beſt and greateſt, was pleas'd to have it teſtified abundantly, (as we could ſhew at large if it were needful) in the Holy Scriptures. Whence it was, that all pious and well diſpoſed Citizens have been always

always of this mind, to preſerve the *Kings* ſafety (when the chance of War had brought things into great hazard) I ſay, the ſafety of the King alone, before all their own. This, as became good Subjects, the *Iſraelites* openly profeſſed, who in the curſed conſpiracy of *Abſalom*, continued loyal to *David*, and ſtiled the King, *the breath of their Noſtrils*, 2 Sam. 18.

8. The Original of their *Maxim* was from the Roman Nation, uſed by them when *Rome* flouriſhed moſt under the *popular State*. No wonder, they accounted the ſafety of the People to have been the *Supreme Law*, where the People was the *Supreme Power*. The Laws were the Laws of the *People*, theirs were the Judgments, theirs all the Juriſdiction and the abſolute Dominion and Majeſty. All which in a *Monarchichal* Eſtate belong not to the People, but to the Prince. Therefore, how much value they had for the ſafety of the *People*, where the People had the Majeſty (how much that was they ſhew'd to the World by this very Maxim) ſo much if we will inſiſt upon the Authority of the ſame (with due reguard to different forms) muſt we, who acknowledge no other Majeſty, but *regal*, have for the ſafety of Kings.

9. Now if the words which remain, *Supreme Law*, be rightly weighed, all wiſe and modeſt men will acknowledg, ſcarce any thing could poſſibly be alledged more ample and illuſtrious for the eſtabliſhing the Higheſt Power of *Kings*, than this Maxim. For this locution, *the Supreme Law ſuppoſeth*, there muſt

muſt neceſſarily be in every Common-wealth ſome *Power*, to all poſitive humane Laws Superior; Unto which it appertains to provide, and by Authority of the ſame to procure, that the Common-wealth receive no detriment, neither from the defect of Laws, nor from the too ſuperſtitious obſervation of them. The reaſon whereof is manifeſt, Becauſe, neither can the *Law-giver*, no not the moſt prudent foreſee all circumſtances of future events; nor ſufficiently prevent by Law the contingency of thoſe evils and incommodities which he ſuſpecteth. In which caſe, unleſs there be, in ſome perticular perſon or perſons, place left to exerciſe ſome *arbitrary* Power, there will remain no effectual and ſufficient remedy to avert your preſent danger, and provide for the publick ſafety.

10. This being fixed, that the ſafety of the People, i. e. the publick good requires, there be in the Common-wealth ſome Authority *Superior* to the Laws, which may ſupply the defects of the ſame; it follows neceſſarily, this ſupream Authority cannot belong to any other than the *Prince*, the perſon who hath the higheſt Empire and Command over the whole Community, the Governour and Protector of all the People: whether he be *one*, as in a Monarchical State; or *more*, as in other forms of Common-wealth.

11. This *Maxim*, which I ſaid deſcended to us from the *Romans*, is found Written in *Marcus Cicero*'s third Book *de legibus*, drawn (as he teſtifies) out of

of the ancient Laws of that Nation, and by him deſcribed in the very words of the Law. After the deſcription and explication of the Laws pertaining to *Religion*, and the Worſhip of their gods in the former Books; in the third, at laſt he proceeds to the rehearſal of ſuch as belong to the Common-wealth and to the *Majeſtrates*; Where, among other words, are theſe, *In the Royal Empire, let there be two: And let them, in preſiding, in judging, in conſulting, be called Conſuls. Let them have the higheſt Right of the Militia: let them be ſubject to none: To them, let the ſafety of the People be the Supreme Law.* To them; *to whom?* To them that have the Royal Empire, who had the higheſt right of the *Militia*; who acknowledged no Power above them, to which they ought to be ſubject: that is, to the two Conſuls. What, though by the conſtitution of that Common-wealth, they bear only a yearly Office, yet were they for the time, in the higheſt Power over the City and the Roman World? Read, and read again this whole Period. Where can ye find any, the leaſt point of Power granted to Subjects (againſt the will of their Prince) either to judge of the ſafety of the People, or to do or appoint any thing contrary to the Laws? Doth not this whole *Series* of things and Words in *Cicero* openly proclaim, That Supreme Authority, which is ſuperior to all made Laws, and ſo the whole care of publick ſafety, properly belongs to him, to whom alſo the Royal Empire belongs, and the Higheſt Right of the *Militia* and the ſupereminent Power ſubject to none.

12. Mankind, *you will ſay*, is in a very bad condition, if the ſafety of all depends upon the pleaſure of *one* man; ſo that it is not lawful for People in caſe of extream neceſſity, without his advice, to take care of the publick ſafety. I anſwer, 'tis granted, here is ſomething lawful for the Subjects, if a great, and otherwiſe unavoidable *neceſſity* require; and that without the Princes advice. For neceſſity (according to the common proverb) *hath no Law*. Nevertheleſs, I deny that to follow, which ſome would have. I ſay therefore, *Firſt*, whatever right in this affair may poſſibly belong to *Subjects*, to ſet aſide the Laws and regard the publick ſafety, it accrues to them upon another account: but, upon the Authority of the preſent *Maxim*, as a ground, they can no way rely. It leaves the Peoples ſafety to be cared for and procured by the Prince, and permits not that care to the people themſelves. Beſides, 'tis one thing to attempt a matter againſt the Laws, without the advice of the Prince; and another to do ſo *againſt* his Will: That may be lawful, due *conditions* obſerved; this not lawful upon no condition.

13. I ſay, *ſecondly*, Subjects, if they will attempt any thing in order to the publick ſafety, muſt remember, above all, *two conditions* moſt religiouſly: either of which neglected, they cannot excuſe themſelves by no neceſſity. *One*, that nothing be done or attempted to the *prejudice* of the *Prince*; the preſervation of his Perſon and Dignity being moſt neceſſary to the publick ſafety. The *other*, that nothing be done or attempted againſt the Laws and Rights, but by the *Princes conſent*; conſent, I mean, either *expreſs*, where it may conveniently

veniently be had; or (if he be remote, and the buſineſs admit no delay) at leaſt reaſonably *preſumed*: that is, when the preſſure of neceſſity is ſo great, that no ſober and prudent man could doubt, but the Prince himſelf, if he were preſent, would diſpenſe with the Law, and grant a relaxation to his Subjects.

14. Theſe two *conditions* being obſerved, I affirm, except there ariſe from ſome other Spring (*viz.* from particular *circumſtances*) an Impediment, 'tis lawful for Subjects, in defending the ſafety of Prince and People, againſt Forreign Enemies, or domeſtick Traytors, to regard more the *Common Good*, which is the *Supreme Law*, than to look upon the Words and Letters of perticular Laws; which are made to ſerve, not to prejudice the Common-wealth.

FINIS.